3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

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with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of "song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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the midwife, it was said that the child was afraid of her and so hurried and was born before she came. On the other hand, if the birth were delayed and the confined woman in great pain, it was the duty of her relatives to send for one or two other women to assist the midwife. These helped in trying to hasten the birth. If they failed, the medicine-men were called. The latter came into the lodge with gourd rattles and sang their medicine songs. Then they gave medicine to the woman. If it was time for her to give birth, it was thought that delivery would speedily follow; if it was not time, she would at least be relieved.

In delivery the woman usually rested on her knees, leaning forward on a stick brought for that purpose by the midwife. Those of high rank, belonging to the Four-Band village, were always permitted to use a short round stake from the Northeast, or Big Black Meteoric-Star bundle, on which was fastened a buffalo scalp containing a chart of the constellations, and which was supposed to have the effect of making delivery exceedingly easy.

When the child was born, the midwife cut the umbilical cord, using a new knife given her as part of her pay. She rubbed ashes upon the cord until it shrank, then she twisted it around upon the child's navel, and tied a string around it. Contrary to the custom much in vogue among the Plains Indians, the mother retained the cord, wrapping it in a buckskin in a work-box; it was buried with her and never given to the child.

The midwife then washed the infant with warm water and dried it with buffalo wool, wrapped it in a blanket, and placed it on a cradleboard. Next she bestowed a name upon the baby and gave it to the mother's relatives. The afterbirth she disposed of in the following manner: placing it on a bunch of grass, and wrapping it in a piece of tanned buffalo-hide, she carried it outside into the woods. There she put it on a tree, saying: "I place this afterbirth upon you, that the animals may not eat it, nor the birds. You stand here firmly; let this child that I have attended grow up without sickness to be a man (or woman)." Next she said to the afterbirth: "I place you securely upon this tree, so that nothing will touch you, and so that you will turn into dust. If the mother who is sick yonder should give birth to another, make the delivery easy." The midwife then returned to the lodge.

After the dried cord broke off from the child's navel, the baby was washed in the little wooden bowl and turned over to the mother. The old woman who had acted as midwife combed and braided the

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy. In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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and thought that I was dead but found afterwards that I was only 796
asleep. In my sleep, I saw a buffalo bull sitting by the water's 553
edge waving his tongue in the water. As I went up to him I saw 159
that he was watching me. He spoke to me and said: 'My son, you 538
are wounded, but you are not going to die; I shall take care of you.'
When I regained consciousness, I was feeling sick. I wanted to
vomit. I vomited a lump of white stuff. The medicine-men cut
it open, and there was a piece of strouding inside it. This was a
piece that had been shot into me from my breech cloth. I soon
became well. Then I took the name of Buffalo-waving-its-Mouth-
in-Water."

"There was a young man who had never been on the warpath, but was always making fun of other young men who came back from the warpath without any ponies or scalps. This young man made up his mind one day that he would go on the warpath. So he sat down in his lodge and invited a few of his friends. He told them that he was thinking about going on the warpath, and if they wanted to go he would like to go with them. The young men all said they would go. The young man kept the others in his lodge all day and all night. Just before sunrise they started out. They travelled far and a little before noon they stopped in a hollow, and the young man selected scouts and sent them out. The scouts came back and reported that there was a war-party close by, that the men were holding some kind of a council, and that their ponies were not very close. The young man gave instructions for every one to get ready. They walked along the ravines until they came to the ponies, which they captured and mounted. Then they attacked the enemy while they were holding council. The boys killed several of the enemy and drove the others away, came back and took scalps, and then returned home. They set the prairies afire, took the charred grass and put it upon their faces and bodies. They were received by the people and the boy told the old men that he had taken a scalp, which he wanted to offer to the gods, and that he [782] wanted his name changed. So the scalp was offered to the gods, and his name was changed to Noon, for he said: 'By noon time I [551] had captured the enemy's ponies, killed several men, and taken their scalps, so I shall be known as Noon-Day Man.'"

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

The usual period of nursing was about three years; if a woman 853
nursed a child for a longer time other women would make fun of
her. Children were told by their mothers to bury their milk teeth, 854 ●
866

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

as rapidly as they were shed, just underneath the ground within the lodge on the south side, and to say to a tooth as they buried it: "Make my other teeth grow quickly."

The early training of the child was largely in the hands of the grandmothers, who took it upon themselves to give instruction in tribal and family ethics. They assumed the right to enforce their injunctions and commands by blows or by the use of the whip, and it is claimed that in former times, before the Skidi had been modified through contact with white men, the rearing of children was very strict and they were often scolded and severely punished by the father, mother, or grandparents. Aside from the deference young children were supposed to pay adults, they were taught to show respect for their parents by not molesting them, to remain silent when older people were talking, to refrain from approaching too closely the altar in the earth lodge, and carefully to avoid making a disturbance about the scenes of ceremonies. During this period an older sister might assist in correcting the child. As a boy grew older he was given technical instruction by his grandfathers in the making of bows and arrows, in the playing of games, etc. Girls were taught by their grandmothers to prepare food, to dress hides, and to do the work which fell to the lot of women. This early training was often supplemented by the telling of myths containing some moral precept. For example, the child was told not to steal, the point being especially illustrated by the tale of the boy who stole his sister's seed corn, and, because he grew angry for being scolded, turned into an eagle. This particular story also has reference to the respect and affection with which siblings were taught to regard one another. Brotherly love was specially emphasized. Boys were told that in later years they should love their brothers even more than their wives, for there is a well-known saying among the Skidi that at a man's death his brother will mutilate himself with grief and his sister cut her hair and mourn sincerely, but his wife will simulate tears by spitting in her hands, while she peeps through her fingers looking for another husband. [Also stated elsewhere as: "Brother and sister will mutilate themselves, but your wife will never throw a piece of her vulva in your grave."] Love and respect of parents were also emphasized as something to be maintained throughout life and never neglected, for the duties of parents to children and children to parents never ended.

Although the training of children was primarily under the immediate direction of the parents and grandparents, certain other

10:Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
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Description of the Manners

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose" peering forth.

INTOXICATING DRINK.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes, who are fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to be brought into their villages.

BURYING THEIR DEAD.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows: "I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation, and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient, however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition. But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance, darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?"

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*172 322 412 in a somewhat fragmentary condition when found, it has been quite accurately restored by Mr. Hill, and all of the features, such as the legs and the cavity, were reconstructed on the basis of pieces that clearly showed the original shape.

Though scarce in an archeological way, these mortars were apparently in common use in historic times. According to Irving,[80] they were hollowed out "by kindling a fire upon the top of a block of wood, into which it gradually sinks itself, until it forms a sort of bowl." They were usually of about the size above described or slightly larger, and were used for grinding corn, "by using a billet of wood as a pestle".[81] From this report it would appear that the wooden mortar was used in place of the stone metate, which is further indicated by the almost total absence of the latter; the perishable nature of the wood accounts for the rarity of mortars of that material.

*172 322 415 Bowls.—Three of these have been recovered from graves at the Hill site and are almost complete. One specimen is 8 inches in diameter, 2½ inches deep, and a half inch in thickness, with a sharp lip; one side is continued up an inch or so higher and prolonged into a sort of unperforated lug or tab. Another vessel is 5½ inches across, 2½ inches deep, and three-eighths inch thick, with a rounded lip. The third is deeper and more like a mug; it measures 4 inches in diameter, 3 inches in minimum and 5 inches in maximum depth, with a flat bottom. On the highest side is an ear; the walls are quite thin and the lip flares outward somewhat. None of the pieces shows the concentric growth rings, thus suggesting that they were made by steaming and bending into shape slabs from the side rather than from the cross section of the tree.

Fragments of small, thin-walled wooden vessels were recovered from burial 3 at the Hill site by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, but were inadequate for a proper reconstruction.

Platters.—The one example so far found is 11 inches in diameter, less than an inch deep, and has a thickness of a half inch or thereabouts. The edge is round and shows much wear, as in fact does the vessel in general. It tends to crack in a somewhat parallel fashion entirely across the width, rather than radially from the center, suggesting that it is made of a slab from the side of a tree. It was found in a grave at the Hill site.

*172 322 ●854 Cradle board (?).—Few whole or even nearly complete cradle boards have been recovered. The finest specimen, which may or may not be correctly designated, was found in a grave at the Hill site. It measures 30 inches long by 11 inches wide, with a 1¼-inch border.

[80] 1835, vol. II, p. 85.
[81] Ibid.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[89] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[90]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stirrups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the

[89] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[90] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. I, p. 233. However, excavation at the Burkett site in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum.